3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side.

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII.

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows:

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation.

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead.

Dr. Stuart Eldridge[*] has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

[*] Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

778 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
782 most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
● 887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

574 769 273 [782] THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

[562]

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

[558] 535 273 574 769 [533] Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman_D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ka ceu, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi.* This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.